

SOCIAL

ACT-107

TOWARD CHRISTIAN-JEWISH UNDERSTANDING

by

DONALD M. STERLING



November 15, 1940

SOCIAL ACTION

(A MAGAZINE OF FACT)

Published by the Council for Social Action of the
Congregational Christian Churches

289 Fourth Avenue

New York City

November 15, 1940

ALFRED W. SWAN, *Chairman*

DWIGHT J. BRADLEY, *Executive Director*

ELIZABETH G. WHITING, *Associate Director and Editor*

CONTENTS

CHRISTIANITY FACES A MAJOR TASK,

by Everett R. Clinchy 3

TOWARD CHRISTIAN-JEWISH UNDERSTANDING,

by Donald M. Sterling 5

"LEST WE FORGET" 34

TO A REFUGEE CHILD, *a Poem* 38

Donald M. Sterling is a Congregational minister
in Edgerton, Wisconsin.

SOCIAL ACTION, Volume VI, Number 9, November 15, 1940. Published monthly except July and August. Subscription \$1.00 per year; Canada, \$1.20 per year. Single copies, 15c. each; 2 to 9 copies, 10c. each; 10 to 49 copies, 7c. each; 50 or more copies, 5c. each. Re-entered as second-class matter January 30, 1939, at the Post Office at New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Have you sent in your renewal to **SOCIAL ACTION**? You will find the expiration date of your subscription on the envelope in which your magazine is enclosed. . . . Please remember to give us two weeks notice of any change of address.

CHRISTIANITY FACES A MAJOR TASK

If the Christian churches fail to destroy the virus of anti-Jewish hate in the United States, then Christianity will be destroyed. Anti-Semitism leads on to anti-Christianism. The brutal, pagan forces which set out to destroy Jews and Judaism attack Catholics next, and then turn on Protestants. A Christian German refugee, a man of great distinction, informed the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ that of the one million people now behind the barbed-wire of Nazi concentration camps, only one-tenth are Jews; 900,000 are Christians!

Clearly, the annihilation of Judaism is a weapon of totalitarian dictatorship which, if successful in its world revolution, will annihilate the structure of Christianity. This is one importance of this article.

The United States of America is a nation of many peoples. The picture is fascinating. Two millions are Episcopalian; 40 millions, Evangelical Protestant; one million, Greek Catholic; four and a half millions, Jew; two-thirds of a million, Mormon; one-tenth of a million, Quaker; twenty-two millions, Roman Catholic and one-half million, Christian Scientist. Here we have a total of seventy million people who believe in God and who, because of that, believe in the one Judaeo-Christian tradition. Because they so believe, they also have faith in a democratic Republic to which they or their forefathers fled for freedom. Truly, the American Dream of "One Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all" is a beautiful and enduring one.

Or, isn't it? To those who know the overt hostilities between Protestants and Irish Catholics in the Nativist riots of the 1830's on through the hateful Know-Nothing Movement and the American Protective Association, to the KKK of the 1920's, America does not present an altogether beautiful picture. And yet, the possibility of making ours a country in which people of forty-seven nationalities, representing all of the racial strains of the one human family and the main living religious cultures, may get along together in a friendly rivalry of good works, a kind of competition of excellence, can and should be realized. The most serious threat to our success in this endeavor is that the psychopathic disease of anti-Semitism may spread in the Western Hemisphere. This menace adds importance to this article.

To apply the Christian's conscience and reason to human relations is imperative if we are to dispel hostility and hatred. To educate the emotions and to evoke new emotional responses on the part of the anti-Semite is a major task of Christianity.

—EVERETT R. CLINCHY, *Director*
The National Conference
of Christians and Jews

The illustrations on pages 6, 18, 29 and 40 are by Jack Betts. They appeared originally in "Footprints of the Trojan Horse" and are reproduced here by permission of the Citizenship Educational Service, Inc., of New York City.

TOWARD CHRISTIAN-JEWISH UNDERSTANDING

by DONALD M. STERLING

We Recognize the Trojan Horse

During the years in which the stark spectre of Nazism has stalked through Europe, there has been an intensification of anti-Semitic propaganda in the United States.

The two developments are not a coincidence. The sowing of hatred against the Jews is part and parcel of the Nazi foreign policy. Operated by direct agents and by sympathizers in the "Fifth Column," it is one of the methods by which the totalitarian philosophy seeks to disrupt and supplant the democratic forms of society.

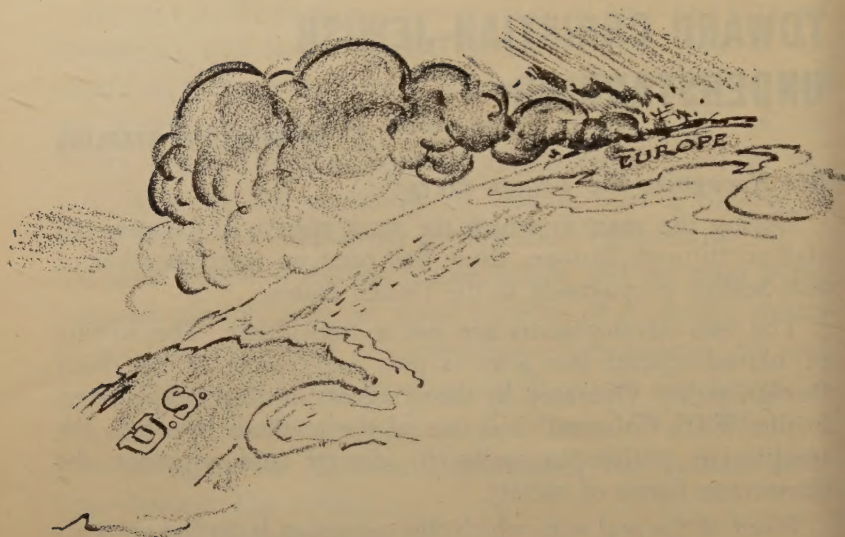
Proof of the zeal with which this campaign is carried on is afforded by the fact that as much as 40 per cent of all anti-Semitic material circulated in this country before the present war was printed in Germany, while a further 20 per cent was clearly inspired by Nazi sources.*

A classic example of the latter was the article entitled "Background of Persecution" published by Father Charles E. Coughlin in *Social Justice* of December 5, 1938. Although printed over his own signature, it was subsequently discovered that whole paragraphs of this Jew-baiting effusion were, in fact, taken *verbatim* from a speech delivered by Dr. Joseph Goebbels to the Nuremberg Nazi Congress in 1935!

Nor are these by any means new revelations. The facts have been pointed out over and over again by competent American observers.

As far back as May 27, 1939, Stanley High drew attention, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, to the activities of "star-spangled

*Henry S. Leiper, Executive Secretary of the American section of the World Council of Churches, in a report to the Seminar on Civil Liberty and Minority Groups, held during the recent meetings of the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches in Berkeley, California.



**Forty per cent of all anti-Semitic material
circulated in this country before the pres-
ent war was printed in Germany.**

fascists" busily engaged, under the guise of patriotism, in "pouring upon the country an extensive propaganda which, for incoherent violence, might be drawn directly from the presses of Joseph Goebbels or Julius Streicher, *as some of it actually is.*"

The warning was repeated later by Demaree Bess in his article, "Hitler's Weapon Against Us," published in the same periodical on August 3, 1940. "The Nazi dictator knows," he wrote, "that his true allies are American demagogues who play upon such prejudices as anti-foreignism and anti-Semitism."

These revelations, coupled with the progress of events abroad, have certainly produced an effect on the American mind. People are less receptive than they were to anti-Semitic propaganda. Nevertheless, they are still largely unaware of the real menace which lurks behind it. Incredulous as they may be of its assertions, they are prone to be indifferent to its dissemination. The attitude is all too common that, since America is not Germany, the vaporings of a few hotheads are really unimportant. Fundamentally, it is argued, the country is not anti-Semitic, so that the virus thus pumped into the stream of its life can produce, at most, a temporary rash but scarcely a permanent infection. Let the fanatics blow off steam. It can't happen here.

This attitude is not only mistaken, but also dangerous, for it rests on a profound misunderstanding of the real problem. Those who adopt it remain blind to the fact that anti-Semitic propaganda is more than a tirade of invective against the Jews. It is a Trojan horse tactic employed by forces seeking, either deliberately or through ignorance, to deliver the American way of life into the hands of Nazism and fascism. It is an attempt to create division in the body public, thereby disrupting the unity of the people and shattering the fabric of our democratic society. It is a campaign not only against the Jews, but against us all.

The point has been well expressed by Edmond Taylor in his *Strategy of Terror*. "Anti-Semitism," he observes, "is the first and simplest tactic of Hitler's war against us. The German technique is to aim chiefly at disrupting the socio-psychological ties between individuals which make them act as part of a social group."

If anyone wants further proof for this assertion, none more adequate could be found than the words of Hitler himself as reported recently by Hermann Rauschning. "We shall have friends," said the Führer, "who will help us in all the enemy countries. We shall know how to obtain such friends. Mental confusion, contradiction of feeling, indecisiveness, panic; these are our weapons."

It is for the purpose of creating such mental confusion, contradiction of feeling and indecisiveness that the Nazi propaganda machine spends such large sums in fomenting anti-Semitic agitation wherever it can find an opportunity of doing so here in the United States.

The Attack on our Judaic Heritage

This brings us to the crux of the whole problem. What we have to realize is that anti-Semitism is not merely an attack upon the presence of Jews in our national life. It is far more than that. It is an attack on the Semitic, or Judaic, tradition which, through the Old Testament, lies at the root of our Christian civilization. It is this, primarily and essentially, that the modern anti-Semite means when he says that Western culture is a Judaized culture, and it is no good telling him that the majority of our schools and colleges, our press, banks and industries are not, in fact, in the hands of Jews. True enough, the anti-Semite invariably asserts that they are. It is not, however, with his assertions but with their motivation that we ought to be concerned; and their motivation, even though the individual spokesman may be unaware of it, is an ideological attack upon the Old Testament conception of man. It is this

which the Nazi and fascist philosophy repudiates, and it is this which ultimately conditions the campaign against the Jews.

The point was brought out clearly, some fifty years ago, in the notorious attack upon Christianity by Professor Eugen Dühring of the University of Berlin, a classic of modern anti-Semitic propaganda. Dühring claimed that Christianity was a manifestation of the Semitic spirit, and that the latter was incompatible with the theological and ethical conceptions of the Scandinavian peoples.

Now, this form of anti-Semitism is clearly far removed from mere attempts to degrade Jews from their position in society. It is, in fact, not so much an attack on Jews as on Semitism; that is, on the Judaic cultural heritage.

True enough, Dühring was expelled, in his day, from the University of Berlin, but it is more than doubtful whether, if he were living today, he would be similarly disavowed by the Nazis. His line of thought is in direct accord with the teachings of Alfred Rosenberg and other apostles of the hooked cross.

The Nazi attempts to exterminate Christianity in Germany may not have been as spectacular as the attacks against some democratic institutions, but surely they have been no less relentless. The Nazis have found that there are more ways than one of extirpating Christian influence. There is, for instance, a Russian method and a German method. The Communists claim that the Church is unimportant; therefore, away with it. The Nazis, on the other hand, fully recognize its importance and authority. What they seek to do, therefore, is to vest with that authority their own contradictory doctrines. Establishing, under the sanction of Christianity, their own godless trinity of Blood, Race and Soil, they attempt to obliterate the genuine article by decrying it as a manifestation of the Jewish spirit, incompatible with their own. In other words, realizing that Christianity possesses an authority not easily undermined, they put forward the claim that the spirit of Nazism is, in truth, the only real

Christianity, and that the traditional teachings of the Church are the result of Jewish distortion.

This device serves the further useful purpose of enabling them to stigmatize every Church or individual Christian who protests against their doctrines as Judaizers and traitors to the true philosophy and welfare of the nation.

The Attack on Democracy

Hitler's own attitude on the subject can be clearly seen in the pages of *Mein Kampf*. The book is confessedly hard reading. It is not literature. It is irritating, and repetitious. Nevertheless, if anyone will take the trouble to wade through that tedious volume, he will find that the Führer's sentiments are indeed based upon a fundamental antagonism to the Judeo-Christian heritage. "Judaism," he says, "is a spiritual pestilence worse than the Black Death," and "in taking up the struggle against the Jews," he is "fighting the battle of the Lord."

Note carefully: what Hitler is primarily attacking is not the presence and competition of Jews in economic and professional life, but rather the basic concepts of Judaism, of the Jewish way of life. Only incidentally is he against Jews as lawyers, physicians, industrialists, or what not. Primarily, he is against them as exponents of a civilization to which he is opposed.

This is significant enough, but what follows is crucial. In Hitler's eyes, the evil civilization which Judaism has unloaded upon the world is manifested in the institution of *Democracy*. "Only a Jew," he states, "can praise an institution which is as dirty and untruthful as he is himself." The assault on the Jews, therefore, is basically an assault on Democracy. This is no inference. The case is stated explicitly. "This kind of democracy (parliamentary)," he observes, in the sentence immediately preceding our last quote, "has therefore become the instrument of the race which, because of its secret aims, has to shun the light of day, now as always."

In the light of this conception, all who believe in the democratic process are, *ipso facto*, either Jews or the tools of Jews.

The "Single Foe" Technique

The identification of democracy with Judaism also serves another purpose. It enables the Nazi to concentrate all his forces upon *one* enemy, and the value of this is plainly stated in a revealing passage of *Mein Kampf*.

"If," writes Hitler, "a number of different enemies are attacked at the same time, the popular mind will begin to wonder whether they all can be wrong, and one's own nation or movement alone right. It is therefore necessary to create the illusion of a single foe, by lumping together a number of intrinsically varied opponents."

By calling every democrat, or other enemy of the regime, a Jew, this "lumping together" is conveniently achieved. Astute observers have long recognized that the epithet "Jewish" was being used by Nazis by way of a blanket formula. It is therefore highly questionable whether, when they rail against "Jewish" machinations, the German leaders themselves take their own utterances at face value. More probably, the word means simply "people we don't like."

The Convenient Scapegoat

If, then, the term "Jewish" is simply a comprehensive style for *all* opponents of the Nazi regime, and for *all* supporters of the Christian ethic and the democratic process, the question naturally arises: why specifically "Jewish?"

The main answer to this question has already been given: because the Old Testament, the basis both of the Christian ethic and of democratic culture, *is*, in fact, a Jewish book. There is, however, another reason.

Anti-Semitism was not invented by Hitler. It already existed. A remnant of a less enlightened age, the Nazis have found it a useful instrument, ready made to their hand. The latent dislike of Jews which still lingered in Germany made the Jew a natural scapegoat upon whom could be fastened the blame for all the ills that beset post-war Germany. The greater the willingness of Germans to carp at Jews, the greater the possi-

bility that hate for the Jews could be employed as a propagandist ruse by those who were gunning for more than Jewish game.

The emphasis in this article has therefore been placed upon the manner in which the enemies of Christianity and of Christian civilization employ an attack upon the Jews as a strategic weapon. We must not permit ourselves to be tricked by such tactics. We must valiantly resist the spreading of anti-Jewish sentiment in America. It is not just a question of what will happen to Jews. It is a question of what will happen to all Americans. For the sake of our own self-preservation, let us remember Edmond Taylor's dictum: "Anti-Semitism is the first and simplest tactic in Hitler's war against us."

At this point a question is likely to arise in the mind of the thoughtful individual. If the anti-Semite's slanders against the Jews are usually barefaced lies or gross distortion of the truth, how does he win a following? Why are people so slow to see through his stratagems? The sociologist and the social psychologist must be called in to give reply.

Students of social behavior have discovered that there are certain reactions which underlie the attitude of *all* majorities toward *all* minorities and of all races toward one another. If it is possible for us to recall any of the Latin we learned in high school we may remember that by the Romans, the stranger either in language or in thought was confounded with the enemy. Other peoples have done the same. This attitude, instinctive to every individual and group, is nevertheless one which can and should be outgrown. Unfortunately, many individuals never graduate from it.

When the Irish first came in large numbers to the United States their arrival gave rise to all manner of fears, to an outburst of anti-Catholicism, and to the burning of one Convent—not to mention other attacks upon Catholic persons and property. A depression helped to fan the flames of hate, but the intensity of feeling against these new arrivals could never

have existed had they been Protestant and of the same national background as those among whom they settled.

The tendency of any majority to look with distrust and often with actual fear upon an alien minority within its midst conforms to a behavior pattern that is universal. When times are good this latent antagonism stays pretty well beneath the surface. In periods of social and economic dislocation, however, it breaks through and movements pledged to elect only Protestants to public office, to put the Jew in his place, or to remove from influence whatever other particular minority it is that the majority fears, arise to plague the community.

The Jews, ever since the Dispersion, have been a minority wherever they have dwelt. This, coupled with the additional fact that they have been scattered throughout the world, explains why they have been the subject of attack in so many instances. If all the nations of the Western World were predominantly Catholic, and the only Protestants were Scotsmen dispersed among the nations, we would hear people talking of the "Scots problem" much as the anti-Semite speaks of "the Jewish problem."

The attitude adopted by many Gentiles toward the Jew in periods of upheaval is not unique. It is only one special illustration of the way *any* majority will react in similar conditions toward *any* minority in its midst. Indeed, there is a "rule of thumb" sociological dictum that *what the majority does to the Jews today, it will be doing to other minorities tomorrow.*

"Racial Purity" and Pseudo-Science

Anti-Semitism is a form of extreme ethno-centrism. The man who declared, "I am a 200 per cent American. I hate Catholics, Negroes, Jews, the English and the French," has often been subjected to ridicule as an example of one who can define his patriotism only in terms of what he hates.

Pride in one's own racial stock is a universal human trait. Indeed, it is probably fortunate that the Nordic can inflate his

ego by contemplating his blondness while the black man in Africa can thank whatever god he worships that he was not born white! But when this essentially childish trait develops into hatred for all who spring from a different stock, and when it goes on to manufacture a supposed racial science to buttress its prejudices, it becomes dangerous.

One of the evil consequences of the anti-Semitic agitation carried on in Germany during the latter part of the past century by individuals of Professor Dühring's calibre was the amount of racial nonsense which came to be accepted as scientific in certain quarters. The glorification of the "godlike Aryan," of which the German was supposedly the world's best example, and the vilification of the Jew as a "Semite," did not cease with the disappearance of the anti-Semitic party of that day. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* appeared in 1899, found readers by the hundred thousand. Kaiser Wilhelm II read from Chamberlain to his sons and also to the ladies of the court, thereby, it is reported, putting the latter to sleep. He personally assisted in securing a wide dissemination of Chamberlain's views amongst persons who moved in leading circles.

The enthusiastic reception accorded *The Foundations* rested unquestionably upon its lyrical praise of German institutions, plus the fact that it was written by an Englishman with an extraordinary gift of style and the ability to present a scholarly front. While its chief popularity was not due to its anti-Semitic portions, it is none the less impossible to separate Chamberlain's characterization of the Jew as the racial offspring of "an incestuous crime against Nature" from his conviction respecting the essential superiority of the German people and the greatness of their historic mission. The racial theory underlying the whole work obviously required the Jew as a foil. Lacking such a foil Chamberlain could hardly have climbed to such heights of mock eloquence as to declaim, "Only disgraceful mental indolence or shameful falsification of history can see in the German's entrance into world-history anything but the

rescue of dying humanity from the clutches of the eternally bestial."

The renascent sense of a world mission which dominates the Nazi mentality, the dogmas of Race, Blood, and Soil and the effort to achieve "racial purity," have their roots in such racial chauvinism as Houston Chamberlain helped to make popular. Just as the Nazi assaults upon the Jews can be demonstrated to be a tactical manoeuvre designed for more than anti-Jewish objectives, so their racial pseudo-science can be traced to its origin by a critical analysis of the views championed by Houston Chamberlain.

The "Aryan" Myth

From whence came this notion that of all races the most civilized is the white, that of the whites none are more godlike than the Aryans, and that of all Aryans the Germans are the purest specimens? Basically, the idea springs from the same myth-making impulse which leads one nation to believe that its Emperor is a Son of Heaven, another to feel that its members are the "Chosen People" and Anglo-Saxons to be confident that they were endowed by their creator with certain moral and intellectual capacities not found in other peoples. Ethno-centrism takes many forms.

Tracing the Aryan myth to its origin we find that early in the nineteenth century it was discovered that a certain group of languages, such as Latin, Greek and Sanskrit, from which, in turn, English, German and the Romance tongues were largely derived, constituted a single linguistic family. To this family, now generally styled Indo-European, the older philologists gave the name "Aryan"—a term which originally denoted a certain element of the Sanskrit-speaking people. They imagined, in fact, that there was an "Aryan" race from which all the others had descended. This theory, now shown to be completely erroneous, for a season enjoyed sufficient vogue to be exploited by Gobineau and Houston Chamberlain. But ethnologists were soon shooting the theory full of holes and

the philologist Max Müller, who once himself believed that such a race *did* exist in pre-historic times, was forced to declare, "To me an ethnologist who talks about 'Aryan race,' 'Aryan blood,' 'Aryan eyes and hair,' is as great a sinner as a philologist who talks about a dolichocephalic (long-headed) dictionary or a brachycephalic (broad-headed) grammar. It is worse than the Babylonian confusion, nay, it is even a downright fraud."

An Aryan race may or may not have existed many centuries ago. The linguistic relationship between the Indo-European languages falls far short of proving that it did. The so-called "race" is probably nothing more than an invention of the professor's study. While it may be permissible to speak loosely of Aryan languages, there is no warrant at all for speaking of any Aryan race.

The propaganda value of the Aryan myth lies, of course, in the very fact that this race, once its existence has been posited, can be endowed with whatever characteristics may be desired, since no one ever saw a "pure Aryan." The theory was therefore just the thing needed by Gobineau, Houston Chamberlain, Alfred Rosenberg and their disciples.

Since it is impossible to discover an anthropologist of recognized scientific standing today who admits that race prejudice is justified by any of the findings of his science, we ought to be excused from the necessity of paying further attention to the racial nonsense of the anti-Semite.

One further word, however, should be said on this subject. There is no true Semitic race any more than there is an Aryan race. The term Semitic also applies to a family of languages. To pretend that the characteristics developed by the Jews in the course of a millenium and a half of persecution in the Western world are a part of his original racial endowment is to prejudice the case. What he might become, due to his inherent racial characteristics, will never be known until (to quote the words suggested by Everett Ross Clinchy of the National Conference of Christians and Jews), "Christians stop ostracising

Jews. If Christians for one hundred years treated Jews as on a parity, commingled socially, cultivated normal psychological and emotional ties of normal friendship, cultural traits would be diffused so that in manners, standards, and American objectives Christians and Jews would be very much alike."

Will Jews be the Only Victims?

The veil of mystery which the anti-Semite perpetually attempts to throw over the Jew, making of him a creature of unfathomable cunning, diabolically sub-human in character, can and must be removed. The moment we perceive that the anti-Semite's supposed racial science is no science at all, but merely prejudice served up in a witch's cauldron, the Jew begins to stand before us in the semblance of a human being like ourselves. Similarly, when we perceive that prejudice against the Jew is but one manifestation of an irrational, but common attitude of hostility towards *all* minorities, the veil of mystery is completely removed.

The many persecutions suffered by the Jews is a matter to which the anti-Semite delights to refer again and again. His inference is always that if there were not something objectionable about the Jew these persecutions would never have occurred. What he forgets to add, if he knows so much, is that throughout history the Jews have rarely been alone in their sufferings. In nearly every case they have shared them with other groups. The Inquisition, from which Jews suffered a great deal, was certainly not directed against them alone. The horrible massacres of 1648, led by Bogdan Chmelnitzki, in the Ukraine, were directed against Poles and Jews alike. Reliable reports from Germany, previous to the outbreak of the war, indicated that about 90 per cent of the persons in the Nazi Concentration Camps were, in fact, Christians.

This last statement, if it does not destroy the illusion that when Jews are victims of the pogrom spirit all other minorities escape, should at least arouse awareness of the fact that any widespread anti-Semitic movement in this country would not



**"The religions are all alike, no matter
what they call themselves. They have no
future—"**

—Adolf Hitler

leave Christians untouched any more than it has done in Nazi Germany.

The Role of Christianity in the Development of Anti-Semitism

Every conscientious Christian would be happy if he could say that nothing Christians have done during the two millenia of their history has ever contributed to a worsening of the lot of the Jews in their midst. Candor, however, forbids such a statement. Indeed some Christian scholars have even advanced the thesis that, whatever other factors may be at work, it is Christian hostility toward the Jews in times past that constitutes the greatest motivating force of anti-Semitism today.

This thesis is undoubtedly extreme. A listing of all the instances in which Christians have ostracized Jews or subjected them to disabilities still ignores the consideration that *anti-Semitism is but one aspect of the whole problem of minorities*.

Those who seek to explain the true causes of anti-Semitism must be careful not to oversimplify the issue. Before we begin to assess the part played by Christian hostility in the genesis of anti-Semitism, we must be fully aware of the irrational prejudices which color all *in-group* and *out-group* relationships or the attitude of any majority to a minority in its midst. When Christians persecuted Jews on ostensibly religious grounds, it is not improbable that they would have done so anyway even without this pretext. Aside from all questions of religious belief, the Christians were the dominant majority while the Jews were a minority group.

Nevertheless, let us hasten to add that Christians *do* have something to confess. Their past treatment of the Jews has in many instances been neither enlightened nor, even more to the point, Christian.

Consider the manner in which Christians have dealt with the Jews for well nigh two millenia. Up to the fourth century the Christians, as well as the Jews, were a minority in the Roman World. Relations between them were not cordial, but

neither had the opportunity to oppress the other. So far as persecution was concerned it was Christians who best knew its meaning. While they were suffering under Decius, Valerius and Diocletian, the Jews throughout the empire remained untouched.

Then came the edict of Milan in 313 A.D. and Christians, previously a persecuted minority, were accorded toleration. Almost immediately the position of the Jews began to alter. Christians had a special grudge against the Jews. In the old Roman law, Judaism had been characterized as a "most illustrious faith, certainly legitimate." But with Christians no longer under the ban, and with their clergy advising the emperors how to deal with Jewry, imperial edicts began to speak of Jews as a "sacreligious gathering" or a "nefarious sect." The days of toleration for the Jews were coming to an end. The Christians, so lately persecuted, were soon to become the persecutors.

The first anti-Jewish laws were not, however, particularly repressive. They simply threatened the Jew with burning if he sought to dissuade converts to the Christian faith and denied him the right to own Christian slaves. They indicated, however, that a new tendency was beginning to develop. When, later, Constantius forbade the Jews to own pagan slaves, the ban was purely vindictive. In an economy in which slave labor was the basis of all agriculture and industry, the denial of the right to own slaves meant the denial of the right to participate in normal economic life.

Soon the Christian clergy were insisting that no Jew be permitted to occupy any position of authority over Christians. The employment of Christian servants in Jewish homes encountered strict supervision. Jewish physicians were forbidden to attend Christian patients. No Christian was to eat or sleep in the same house with a Jew. All these demands sprang, of course, from the quite understandable desire to protect Christians who were weak in their faith from all contact with the rival sect known as Judaism. But the tendency to subject the Jew to economic disabilities, in order to shield Christians who

could not resist the appeal of Judaism, was becoming established in the very structure of the Christian community.

Ultimately, the Jew was driven from the soil. He was not permitted to buy, or even lease, land for purposes of agriculture. He was excluded from the guilds which held a monopoly over most of the crafts. But what the Christians did permit the Jew to do for a living is highly significant. He was allowed to deal in secondhand goods, mainly old clothes. He could become a peddler, an occupation sufficiently hazardous to render it unattractive to Christians. He was allowed to put out money at interest; or rather, he was not so much permitted as urged into this business by the Church law forbidding Christians to practice usury. Christians of that day were no more inclined than are those of the present to put out their money gratis, so the existence of the Church law made it necessary to find a non-Christian group to perform this wicked but needful function. For the fulfilling of this function the Jewish money lender was called into existence.

What finally happened (we are speaking here in terms of centuries), was that the Jews, who originally had been craftsmen or agriculturalists in the Roman world, were transformed into peddlers, silversmiths, money lenders and the secondhand dealers of the medieval world. They lived in a section of the city set apart for them—the section later known as the "ghetto." As a penalty for being different in matters of religion, the Jew was gradually made over by social pressure into a creature differing from his Gentile neighbor in so many new and additional respects that he became all the more hateful. He became so different that it required but a minor social disturbance to whip the mob into a fury of destructive rage, leading to arson, pillage and murder throughout the Jewish quarter.

Fatefully, although without deliberate intent, the Christian community throughout the latter part of the first millenium subjected the Jews to exactly those disabilities which prepared the way for the butcheries that were to follow. The spark

which started the conflagration was provided by the Crusades. "Why should we cross the seas to make war upon the infidel while there are infidels within our midst?" the Crusaders demanded as they gathered in the Rhineland. Giving suitable answer to their question, they proceeded to slaughter the Jewish "infidels" along the Rhine, the Main and the Danube. No responsible Christian leader had suggested that the Jews be treated in this way. The responsible leaders protested.

Yet the Church was in part responsible. For a long period preceding the Crusades the Church had inculcated precisely those sentiments against the Jews, which, in a time of stress would almost certainly produce the very action which it would be forced to condemn.

Later, during the devastation of the Black Death, a story spread that the Jews were poisoning the wells. The spreading of this rumor led to the murderous destruction of 350 Jewish communities. Again, the Church itself had nothing to do with this nonsense, although ignorant monks and clerics unquestionably had a hand in it. The whole affair was typical of what is bound to happen in times of great suffering and stress if the community has within its midst a minority which the majority has been trained to regard with suspicion and contempt.

Then came the era of the fantastic ritual-murder trials and the charge that the Jews were in the habit of desecrating the Host. Papal bulls were issued refuting the allegations. The Popes took Jews under their special protection. But this was of slight avail, for the Christian community by and large regarded attacks upon the Jews as a religious duty. The savage and popular persecution of the Jews which marked the Middle Ages could only have been prevented beforehand by a different attitude towards the Jews in the early days of Christendom. Excluding them from normal economic relationships in the community meant the gradual accumulation of social strains and tensions which were eventually bound to find outlet in the most savage kind of anti-Semitic excesses.

The Christian community assuredly has much to confess with respect to its past treatment of the Jews. To be sure, it is natural for any majority to behave toward a minority within its midst in very much the same manner that Christians have so often behaved toward Jews. Majorities nearly always abuse their power. But raw instinct and Christian behavior are two very different things. The confession we have is, therefore, that the ancient Christian community certainly maltreated the Jews. We must hasten to add, however, that it did so not because it was Christian but because it was only partially so.

A quotation from Hitler will show the necessity of stressing this point. Before a mass meeting in Munich in 1937 he declared, "In Rome, under the dominion of the Church, Jews occupied a position we should be satisfied to see restored. The Church used every weapon against the Jews, even the Inquisition . . . I, as a German Catholic, ask only what is permitted Polish Catholics. To be anti-Semitic is not to be anti-Catholic." The anti-Semite frequently argues thus. He insists that because Jews have been degraded by Christians in the past anti-Semitism is therefore inseparably bound up with the integral progress of the Christian religion.

Jacques Maritain, an outstanding contemporary Catholic philosopher, in his lecture on *A Christian Looks At The Jewish Question* found it needful to insert a footnote explaining that "neither the policy adopted at certain periods regarding the Jews by medieval Christendom, nor the supervening mistakes and abuses which may have happened, prove that the Catholic Church is bound to anti-Semitism." The Catholic Church of today, as is well known, has repudiated the doctrine that Jews should be subjected to an inferior status and has spoken out against racism. But to minds and heart which refuse to break with a mistaken past, the habits the rest of us would cast off appear as virtues. It is for this reason that, whenever we confess the indignities heaped upon Jews by Christians in the past, we must make clear they did these things not because they were Christians but because of their human weakness.

Can a Christian be an Anti-Semite?

Having already denied the anti-Semite's assumption that anti-Semitism is somehow bound up with the Christian faith it is time to state positively why a Christian cannot be an anti-Semite. While it is hardly customary for Protestants to quote the Pope as an authority, it might be well in this instance to note a statement made by Pius XI concerning anti-Semitism. "It is a movement," he said, "in which we Christians can have no part whatsoever . . . *Spiritually we are Semites.*" No utterance has hit the nail more squarely upon the head than these four words of Pius XI.

The reason no Christian can take part in anti-Semitic agitation lies in the fact that he is obliged to renounce his own heritage before he can attack Judaism as "a spiritual pestilence."

Of all Christians in the world, those in the United States should be among the first to realize that a repudiation of Judaism is an outright repudiation of Christianity. Americans are not ashamed of the fact that Christian parsons in the Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary days fired volleys of texts from the Old Testament in defending the position taken by the Colonies. No American has ever intimated that it was disgraceful to inscribe a verse from the Old Testament upon the lip of the Liberty Bell:—"Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." (Leviticus 25:10)

The average American is likely to scoff when he reads that a Nazi lawyer, speaking before the National Socialist Law Society, declared, "The tragedy of Aryan law begins with the introduction of Mosaic conceptions into the German penal code." He scoffs, and wonders what sort of perverse nonsense will be coming next. He may recall that Woodrow Wilson declared, "The laws of Moses as well as the laws of Rome contributed suggestion and impulse to the men and institutions which were to prepare the modern world; and if we could but have the eyes to see . . . we should easily discover how very much besides religion we owe to the Jew." But the average

American does not have to be well read in political science to sense the blasphemy of the assertion that the introduction of Mosaic principles into Western law was a "tragedy." He has been brought up to believe that the Ten Commandments form the basis of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. Scholars may put the matter differently; but none can so much as insinuate that our system of ethics and law is in error on those points at which it reveals Mosaic influence.

Possibly the simplest way to point out the extent to which Judaic mortar has been employed in cementing the foundations of American culture, is to run over the names given their children by the New England fathers. The Ezras, Nehemiahs, Davids, Daniels, Ezeiels, Sarahs, Rebeccas and Deborahs in the old family trees suggest a people whose tradition was rooted in the Old Testament, its laws and its ideals.

Hermann Rauschning, in explaining why the Nazis hate England, says that their hate is derived from their anti-Semitic ideas. In the Englishman they see a Puritan, "saturated in the spirit of the Old Testament." By the same token, the Nazi must hate the people of the United States, for we as a nation likewise possess a Puritan heritage. Our liberties were bought by men "saturated in the spirit of the Old Testament," men who derived their zeal for liberty and their respect for the dignity of man from their reading of the prophets and Jesus.

According to the anti-Semitic Nazis the very things in which we glory as our richest spiritual possessions, more precious than life itself, are the things which brand us as being "Judaized." By their definition, we are confessedly a "Jewish" people for we accept the laws of God as they are found in both the Old and the New Testament. This definition, to be sure, is a new and odd one for us. But since the anti-Semite employs it we had best know what he means when he says "Judaized." His meaning is such that it is impossible to de-judaize a nation without also de-christianizing it. No Christian can be an anti-Semite.

Anti-Semitism is Not "at Home" in America

In an earlier part of this article it was argued that the anti-Semite can at most produce no more than a "bad rash" by the injection of his virus into the stream of public life. For an understanding of this statement one need only turn to our American tradition and cultural heritage. They are such as to make it extremely difficult to persuade any great number of Americans that a fundamental "Jewish problem" or "Jewish menace" exists in their midst.

That a minority may be induced to accept for the moment, or even to repeat, some of the irresponsible charges hurled at the Jews, is true. But when we Americans begin to discuss the issues that really concern us (or which we believe to be of vital concern), the Jew is all but forgotten. Early in 1939 a self-constituted political prophet made the prediction that the presidential election in 1940 would hinge upon the Jewish question. Such forecasts are based not upon observation of facts, but upon a fanatical blindness to them.

Note the elements in our cultural heritage which militate against anti-Semitism. The earlier settlers came to North America largely from countries which had no age-old tradition of Jewish persecution. Both earlier and later immigrants came in many instances because they themselves sought to escape religious and political persecution. The devotion of the later immigrants to the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution often exceeded that of the native born, who were Americans not by choice but by accident. The large proportion of Americans of German ancestry who refuse to have part in or to countenance anti-Semitic slanders is a fair indication of how difficult it is to root anti-Semitism in any spot on American soil.

In opposing the typical Jew-baiter it is folly merely to assume the defensive. He is unable to find in native American folklore the kind of racially prejudicial stories that he seeks. He must go abroad for them. He may therefore rightly be

attacked at the very start for his want of fundamental Americanism. To stir up racial and religious hatreds by an appeal to imported "isms" is generally regarded as being un-American. The label which his propaganda bears will hardly endear him to the American public. The following anecdote best illustrates the true American spirit.

In the year 1895, when a Jew-baiting German lecturer requested police protection for a meeting in New York City, the then Police Commissioner, Theodore Roosevelt, is reported to have sent a body of Jewish policemen to maintain order. The meeting was not a success.

All Americans Must Understand

One thing every citizen who prefers the American way to Nazi totalitarianism can do about anti-Semitism was hinted in the first paragraphs of this article. If American newspaper correspondents and churchmen who have observed Nazism on the spot and have discerned the motive behind its anti-Semitic propaganda come home saying that "anti-Semitism is the first and simplest tactic in Hitler's war against us," our duty is quite obvious. It is to make known this fact to all who are ignorant.

The special motivating force behind present-day anti-Semitism in this country must be revealed. That its materials have been drawn largely from the presses of Joseph Goebbels and Julius Streicher is a point which should be driven home to the minds of all. The "Fifth Column" label should not be pasted upon every person who happens to have fallen in with the anti-Semites, for the great majority of Americans who have been deluded by this Hitlerism tactic are plainly dupes. If, however, they will not be persuaded that they have been taken in, they must be recognized for what they are—Hitler's unwitting stooges.

The process by which individuals are tricked into swearing undying hatred for values they once held precious must be described in words the simplest can understand. Once so stated,

the description must be repeated until it has been heard by all.

Consider the technique employed by the Nazi anti-Semitic agitator. The great mass of the people in the United States whom he has sought to infect with his dogmas and passions may not be overly astute, but they are, as the saying goes, "Simple God-fearing folk." They believe that the Scriptures are the word of God, both the Old Testament and the New. They believe this country to be a Christian nation. If called upon to state in their own words the reasons for their belief, their declaration would run something like this: Our laws are based upon the Ten Commandments. Our rights as persons, the right to life, liberty, security in the possession of our goods and the pursuit of happiness; none of these would be ours if this nation had not been founded upon principles derived from the word of God.

Words and phrases such as liberty, justice, truth, mercy, the rights of free men and the democratic process, spring to the lips of our American citizenry as they seek to describe those principles upon which our social order is based. Now, the Nazi despises a social order based upon such concepts. To him its ideals are anathema. How, then, can he insinuate his creed into the mind of an American? The method he employs is anti-Semitic propaganda.

While he has probably overestimated the number here whom he can infect with venom he has certainly met with a modicum of success. Victims of the depression, men out of work, small businessmen feeling the pinch of competition in a contracted market, professional men overly sensitive to the presence of Jews in their profession, all these are the anti-Semite's prey. Playing upon racial prejudices he leads them to an acceptance of the dogma that the economic and social problem is essentially a Jewish one.

The next step is to initiate his converts into the deeper mysteries of anti-Semitic lore. The convert, who has not fared too well in the capitalistic system, is permitted the discovery that capitalism is the principal Jewish achievement and that all



A man may find his friend has been "taken in"

the nations following the system of free enterprise are Judaized nations. The convert is likewise informed that the liberal temper characteristic of the democracies and republics of the past century and more is another Jewish achievement. In proof of his assertion, the anti-Semite points to the fact that it was in these nations that the Jews were granted equal civil status.

By such methods he leads his followers on to the point where they are ready to join with him in condemning democracy. His incipient Nazis begin to feel the blood pulse in their veins as they dream of the social revolution they shall effect. The goal of "the anti-Semitic Fifth Column" has been reached. The friends Hitler boasted he knew how to secure have been found, friends who will create "mental confusion, contradiction of feeling, indecisiveness and panic."

The first thing, therefore, we can do about the spread of anti-Semitic propaganda is to assist in bringing more people to understand the forces behind it.

Bridges of Understanding

A second thing we can do is to join hands with those who are building bridges of understanding between the Christian and Jewish communities here in the United States. It has been remarked that while an American Christian may live in a house or an apartment not more than a block removed from a Jewish neighbor he may still go through life having no more than the merest of surface contacts with Jews. The same, of course, can be said of our contacts with fellow Americans of many varying national, racial or religious backgrounds. Mere geographical approximation is no guarantee of acquaintanceship.

But as between Jews and Christians, there is something especially ironic in the fact that a modern Christian will know the Kings and Prophets, the Warriors and the Sweet Singers of Israel far more intimately than he will know Mr. Israel who lives in the next block. If any good can be said to have come from the injection of Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda into the American scene it is certainly this: as a reaction there has arisen the resolve upon the part of many Christians and Jews to build those bridges of understanding which ought to have been built long ago.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews stands out preeminently here, being the agency dedicated to precisely this task. The simple technique employed by the Conference of having a Catholic, a Protestant and a Jew appear upon the same platform to speak of those things which they have in common, has produced amazing results in numerous communities. The comment has often been, "Such a thing as this has never happened in our town before! Why didn't we think of it?"

In addition to such platform programs there are the Round Tables or Interfaith Fellowships organized by the National Conference, which bring together the adherents of the three faiths in a more intimate fellowship. Thus is created that friendship and understanding so essential for the healthy func-

tioning of a social order composed of people belonging to differing faiths and springing from diversified cultural backgrounds.

In many cities, in the more recent past, women's groups from Protestant churches, Catholic parishes and the Jewish synagogues have taken turns in entertaining one another at teas. The hostesses take their guests into the sanctuary, explaining the symbols, objects and forms of worship so familiar to themselves, yet frequently new to their friends. Such positive steps in the direction of interfaith friendship are to be rated considerably higher than mere preachments against the follies of bigotry from within one's own group.

The story of the Passover dinner held in 1940 in the First Congregational Church of San Francisco, of which Dr. Jason Noble Pierce is the pastor, deserves to be told here as an excellent example of how Christians can be brought into a warm and intimate appreciation of a festival so full of meaning even for members of another faith. At the invitation of Dr. Pierce, Rabbi Rudolph I. Coffee of San Francisco presided at this meal attended by members of the Congregational Church.

The dinner was prepared by the women of the church under the direction of Mrs. Coffee and in accordance with Jewish traditional usage. As the dinner proceeded, Rabbi Coffee, having first spoken of the background which culminated in Moses' leading the children of Israel from slavery to freedom, explained the various symbols such as the unleavened bread, the hard boiled eggs, the bitter herb, the paschal bone, the goblet of wine set aside for Elijah, etc. The historical songs were sung by a local cantor.

The briefest description of this dinner suggests that the number of persons attending was limited only by the seating capacity of the hall, and that the experience was vibrant in overtones of spiritual significance.

Within the church school there are opportunities for cultivating friendship and understanding between Christian and Jewish children which have already been explored by imagina-

tive and resourceful leaders. At the biennial General Council of Congregational Christian Churches in Berkeley in 1940, Mrs. Estelle H. Lane reported in the Seminar on the Religious Life of Children a project on "Our Jewish Friends" carried out in the junior department of the Plymouth Church of Des Moines, Iowa.

A visit by the children to a synagogue resulted in the discovery of symbols such as the seven-branch candlestick with which they were familiar in their own church. This led to a study of what there is in our faith that was given us by the Jews. Such studies, of course, can be made independent of a visit to a synagogue. But without the visit they are very likely to be rather cold and formal.

The meeting of the children with Jewish children also led to their sending gifts to their Jewish friends, some of whom were from families of very slender means. The gifts were sent during the Christmas holiday season, but instead of being wrapped in the conventional Christmas paper they were wrapped in blue and white, the Zionist colors.

The possibilities for the building of such bridges between Jews and Christians are so various, and the experiments in friendship have proved so rewarding, that the end result of the anti-Semitic agitation in our country may have been a decrease rather than an increase of hostility toward the Jews. Dangers are also opportunities. The energy and devotion which the anti-Semite gives to his cause, were it to be matched with an equal Christian devotion to the cause of understanding, would set the tide moving against him and toward a sounder integration of our national life than we have previously known.

We Rediscover Our Debt to Judaism

The best counter-offensive against anti-Semitism, therefore, appears to be nothing other than a movement to re-discover our debt to Judaism and the effort to make manifest in our private and corporate living the faith we profess. John Haynes Holmes has explained why, in his services, he regularly an-

nounces a lesson from the Old Testament with the words, "The scriptures of the Jews," and the lesson from the New Testament with the words, "The scriptures of the Christians." This accurate and dramatic statement of a simple truth concerning the origin of our scriptures makes plain that an attack upon the Jews is equally an attack upon Christians.

When Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich vindicated the social value of the Old Testament in his Advent sermons for 1933 he not only demonstrated his ability as a strategist but also his understanding of the roots of the Christian faith. "*Spiritually we are Semites.*"

The final word concerning this anti-Semitic propaganda of Nazi origin is, therefore, not a shrill word of warning but a note of promise. We can, if we will, easily organize a counter-offensive which will put the anti-Semitic forces to rout.

In the organization of this counter-offensive let us take note of that element in our heritage which the Nazi, due to his anti-Semitic ideas, especially hates. He despises people who are of the Puritan tradition. He quite properly realizes that such folk, if they know the rock from whence they are hewn, will discern more quickly than any other group the absolute conflict between his system of values and theirs. The Puritans, it has been said, "found in the Old Testament a model for the ordering of their civil affairs and in the New Testament the pattern for private conduct." This statement points directly to the reason why the anti-Semite must first extirpate all vestiges of the Puritan temper in a country he would win over to his side. In the midst of the present clash between a neo-pagan philosophy of life and the philosophy derived from the Jewish-Christian scriptures it is fortunate for the United States that its first cultural pattern was set by Protestants of the Puritan persuasion.

"LEST WE FORGET"

IN THE NAME OF THESE REFUGEES



AID ALL REFUGEES

The Editor of SOCIAL ACTION will devote the last pages of the magazine during the next few months to an up-to-the-minute description of the ways in which we, American Christians, may express our sympathy for the men, women and children upon whom has fallen the full impact of the war.

The Council for Social Action has been entrusted with the task of bringing this information to all the Congregational Christian Churches of the United States. Its office will be the headquarters of the newly formed *Committee for Assistance to War Victims*.

In doing this, the Council for Social Action is acting for the whole denomination. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the Board of Home Missions and the members of the Committee have very generously contributed enough money to take care of the expenses which the Committee will incur during the next year.

Therefore, all gifts will go directly to the agencies which we are undertaking to support. These agencies are:

- The Church Committee for China Relief
- The American Committee for Christian Refugees
- The American Friends Service Committee
- The Congregational Union of England and Wales
- The International Missionary Council
- The Central Bureau for Relief of the Evangelical Churches of Europe

Thus will we reach homeless refugees; bring food to starving children; provide shelter and food for the Chinese; aid the churches in Europe that have been destroyed or impoverished and last, but not least, assist European missionaries isolated in Asia and Africa from any support from their home churches.

This is a large order. But there can be nothing small about the response of the Christian Churches to the world-wide suffering—a suffering which has no precedent in modern times.

The very vastness of the need calls at one and the same time for a universal sympathy and enough detailed and intimate knowledge to arouse a response commensurate with the need.

In this issue we have brought you the story and meaning of the Nazi persecution of the Jewish race. It is, therefore, fitting that there should be a special word about the men, women and children who have been driven from their homeland by this ruthless policy.

As Fascism triumphs in one country after another, it carries with it the unchristian doctrine of "down with the Jews." So efficient are the Nazis in the art of propaganda, so complete has been their refinement of the means of persecution, that disaster has come to all Jews in every land which has been conquered by Germany.

Beginning in 1933 with Hitler's blood purge, ostracism, poverty, terror and sometimes death became the fate of many thousands of people, both Jew and Christian. For the present German government has gone back as far as 1800 to discover whether an individual is pure Aryan or not.

In 1934, the American Committee for Christian Refugees was formed to assist in the escape of non-Aryan Christians and Christians married to Jews and to care for them upon arrival in this country.

Since 1933, approximately 20,000 Christian refugees have entered the United States. Only about half of these have come to the Committee for assistance. At the present time, the number of active cases handled each month by the American Committee for Christian Refugees averages 1900. In giving these figures, it must be remembered that many more individuals are involved because a case may include husband and wife, or an entire family. The present operating budget of the Committee, for work in the United States alone, is \$18,000 a month, a very inadequate figure in comparison to the need.

The Committee has a *Migration Service* which gives advice on technical problems involved in securing affidavits, passports and visas. It maintains numerous contacts with refugees stranded in every port of the seven seas.

A *Case Work Service* helps refugees with the many problems they face upon arrival in this country.

A *Vocational Service* assists in the retraining of individuals who must enter a new field of work in this country. Lawyers from Central Europe, for example, cannot practice law in the United States and they must refit themselves for self-support.

The *Resettlement Service* makes contacts with communities all over the United States in order that these newcomers may go to the best locality in which work, friends and a permanent home are to be found.

When the magnitude of the task is understood and when, in addition, it is realized that, if there were more money, other refugees who stand in daily peril of their lives might be rescued, it seems incredible that the American Committee for Christian Refugees should be in very serious financial straits, as it is today.

A recent letter from a Christian pastor in Europe who is pleading for more help from church people in America reads, in part, as follows: "We perfectly know that you are submerged by appeals for different and dreadful needs; we feel that in these last times our appeals for the non-Aryan Christians do not find the same understanding response as they did before. . . . Compared with the emigration-movement of Jews the support we receive for our non-Aryan Christians is very poor." This same letter reports that "the Protestant Churches in occupied Holland are collecting and spending about 6,500 florins (approximately \$3,450 in American money) for the non-Aryan Christians in their country."

England, up to the outbreak of war, had been very generous in its care of refugees and, even at this moment, there is more understanding of their plight in that country than exists in this whole great land of ours.

Thus are we American Christians shamed and challenged by the generosity of others less fortunate than ourselves.

As war hysteria spreads and fear creates suspicion and hatred, it is more than ever important that we take the positive steps which alone can stem the tide of terror.

Furthermore, it is to our own best interest that we do this. For the refugees who come now are, in the majority of cases, individuals of unusual ability. Great doctors and famous scientists, writers and artists of distinction are bringing us the advantage of their knowledge. Manufacturers of experience have started new enterprises which are giving employment to American workers.

Finally, these refugees are a bulwark against the spread of fascism. Dr. Hertha Kraus, a refugee and now a faculty member at Bryn Mawr College, says:

"The entire refugee community is on the side of democracy, eager to strengthen it and to see it victorious, willing to share any responsibility which may be involved in democracy's titanic struggle. The refugee has no political loyalty whatever to a government which stands for ruthless expansion and the destruction of minorities considered undesirable, and which has forced him out by tyranny. He has experienced the poisoning, deadly power of its philosophy and his mind is still filled with the unspeakable horror of an experience which can never be put into adequate words—words which would carry meaning to those who have not shared it. He has seen this same horror creeping over new territories, reaching out for further destruction, and he has pleaded innumerable times with the leaders and peoples of the democracies to wake up to the sinister implications of such a movement, to take action against it, action worthy of free people who want freedom, and to consider the protection of human and moral values as their own treasured right and responsibility. . . .

"Can there be any question where these people stand now? What group could feel more strongly the need for a powerful social democracy as a supreme form of government for all people who respect each other, and love freedom?"

The American Committee for Christian Refugees will have to curtail many of its services unless we all give now.

TO A REFUGEE CHILD

Was it you and I who played amongst the snow
Twelve age-long months ago?
You I held so firmly
As joyously our sledge flew down the hill?
Or do I dream that you and I on that still
Sunny morn scrabbled the light dropped snow away
To give the gentians and crocuses a peep of day?

Are these garments close-packed in a drawer
Clothes you will never wear
Now strangers harbour you?
Ach, Liebling, may the greatness of my pain
Mean less of loneliness for you and less of strain
In lisping in a language not your own,
And may the happiness I've lost to you have flown!

The dying Christ prayed for His enemies,
Price-blinded Pharisees
Who knew not what they did.
O God, our rulers cannot make that plea;
They know my baby needs its home — and me.
I must not, will not, ask for vengeance yet.
But — cure their madness, God; and help me to forget
The purple crocuses.

The Child Refugee in a Foreign Land;
by permission of *Punch*, March 22,
1939. Used by the Church of England's
Committee for Non-Aryan Christian
Refugees.

Give through

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN
COMMITTEE FOR ASSISTANCE TO WAR VICTIMS

289 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Book Notes

We urgently suggest two more books this month. One is by F. Ernest Johnson of Columbia University Teachers College: "The Social Gospel Re-Examined." (Harper and Bros., \$2.00) The other is by Reinhold Niebuhr: "Christianity and Power Politics." (Charles Scribner's Sons, \$2.00) Both are very important. Johnson does a more than good job in bringing the liberal emphasis upon social Christianity into line with the recent drastic criticisms of those who are sometimes called the "neo-orthodox." It seems to me that this book should be carefully read by every person who is seriously interested in Christian social action.

Niebuhr's insights in his newest book are, as always, amazing and exciting. He has been the storm-center of controversy for many years. There are some who firmly disagree with him. Yet he has probably had more effect upon the course of advanced American religious thought and action than any other person in the last decade. To neglect reading this book, "Christianity and Power Politics," would be like refusing to expose oneself to the tonic winds off the open sea for fear of catching cold.

—Dwight J. Bradley

Christmas Gift Subscriptions at New Low Rates

This year for the first time a special rate for SOCIAL ACTION Christmas gift subscriptions is in effect: While single subscriptions continue at \$1.00, each ADDITIONAL one-year subscription is only 75c. As you read SOCIAL ACTION (this issue for example) you may think of others who would appreciate its dependable information. Send us their names together with the money (\$1.75 for two; \$2.50 for three; etc.) and a Gift Card bearing your name will be sent to each person on your SOCIAL ACTION gift list. This special rate offer expires December 20. Take advantage of it now.

Your own subscription—either new or renewal—may be included in your Christmas Gift Orders. Please print names and addresses to insure accuracy.



RACIAL PERSECUTION IS DEMOCRACY'S STORM WARNING